is the disconnect in American politics today. This reconciliation bill, this tax cut, represents a huge disconnect to middle-income and working families. It is an outrage.

Let me just conclude by asking unanimous consent that a Wednesday, June 18, piece, ''Rising College Costs Imperil the Nation, Blunt Report Says,'' from the New York Times and a Washington Post piece, June 18, ''Colleges' Failure to Resolve Funding May Bar Millions from Attending, Study Finds,'' be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times, June 18, 1997]

RISING COLLEGE COSTS IMPERIL THE NATION, BLUNT REPORT SAYS

(By Peter Applebome)

The nation's colleges and universities need to cut costs dramatically or face a shortfall of funds that will increasingly shut out the poor from higher education and from economic opportunity as well, according to a blunt and far-ranging assessment of American higher education that was made public yesterday.

The report, by a panel of public and private university officials and corporate executives, says that rising costs, falling public spending and a coming surge in demand are making the economics of American higher education increasingly unsupportable.

If current enrollment, spending and financing trends continue, the report said, higher education will fall $38 billion short of what it needs to serve the expected student population in 2015. To sustain current spending, it said, tuition would have to double by 2015, effectively shutting off higher education to half of those who would want to pursue it.

The report focuses on one of the great unspoken dilemmas in President Clinton's push to make at least two years of college as common as a high school diploma: higher education is expensive, students pay only a small share of their costs and, while bringing increasing numbers of low-income students into higher education will have long-term economic benefits, it will also have enormous short-term economic costs.

On the other hand, the report said, with education increasingly crucial to economic advancement, cutting off access to education—particularly to the poor and to immigrant groups who increasingly dominate the student population of states like California, Florida, New York and Texas—would have enormous consequences for the nation's social fabric.

The report, ''Breaking the Social Contract: The Fiscal Crisis in Higher Education,'' calls for a radical restructuring of universities, including an effort to overhaul university governance to limit the power of individual departments, redefining and often reducing the ambitions of different institutions and a sharing of resources between institutions.

The report also calls for more public financing, but it stresses that changes in the system should be prerequisites to any increases.

''The facts are irrefutable,'' said Thomas Kean, the former New Jersey Governor who is now president of Drew University and is a co-chairman of the panel that wrote the report. ''We are heading for a crisis at the very time we can least afford one.''

The panel, the Commission on National Investment in Higher Education, is made up of academic and business leaders convened by the Council for Aid to Education, an independent subsidiary of the Rand Corporation.

Experts say that higher education is already being reshaped by such forces as technology or competition from for-profit institutions, so that a straight-line extrapolation from current economic figures is difficult. And higher education is such a varied enterprise in the United States that a crisis for a public college in California does not necessarily mean a crisis for Harvard or Princeton.

Still, Roger Benjamin, president of the Council for Aid to Education, notes that even rich universities like Yale and Stanford have faced deficits and retrenchment in recent years.

And officials in state systems, which educate the majority of Americans, say the gap between resources and costs in higher education is becoming ever more daunting.

Charles Reed, chancellor of the State University System of Florida, said that over the next 10 years Florida would face a 50 percent increase in students at its public four-year institutions, to 300,000 from 210,000.

Barry Munitz, chancellor of the California State University System, said California was midway through a half-century of population growth and demographic change that would see the number of children in kindergarten through the 12th grade almost double, to about eight million, and go from about 75 percent white in 1970 to about 75 percent minority in 2020.

Population growth will only accelerate the financial problems facing higher education, the report said. It noted that the index measuring the increases in the price paid by colleges and universities for goods and services, like faculty salaries, rose more than sixfold from 1961 to 1995. The annual rate of growth in the cost of providing higher education exceeded the Consumer price Index by more than a percentage point from 1980 to 1995, the report said.

And, while costs have gone up, public support has not. Since 1976, public support per student has just kept up with inflation, while real costs per student have grown by about 40 percent, the report said.

To make up the difference, tuition has risen dramatically, with tuition and fees doubling from 1976 to 1994. But the report said that a similar doubling between now and 2015 would have a catastrophic effect on access, pricing as many as 6.7 million students out of higher education.

''If you were to announce that, given fiscal pressures, the door to social mobility that was good enough for the old generation is really no longer needed by the new one, you might as well stick a ticking bomb inside the social fabric of this country,'' Chancellor Munitz said.

While calling for more public support, the report said that a solution with colleges and universities themselves.

''Given the magnitude of the deficit facing American colleges and universities, it is surprising that these institutions have not taken more serious steps to increase productivity without sacrificing quality,'' the report said.

The report's recommendations for restructuring—from sharing a library with other institutions to eliminating weak programs—are not new, but there are enormous political and institutional barriers in the way of a major economic overhaul of higher education. Still, some experts say institutions have no option but to find ways to operate more efficiently.

''The ability to maximize revenue, given the competitive pressures for state dollars on the one hand and the resistance to future increases in tuition on the other, has about run its course,'' said Stanley Ikenberry, president of the American Council on Education, a leading advocacy group, which was not involved in the report. ''All of that's putting more and more pressure on the operating side of the budget.''

[From the Washington Post, June 18, 1997]

COLLEGES' FAILURE TO RESOLVE FUNDING MAY BAR MILLIONS FROM ATTENDING STUDY FINDS

(By Rene Sanchez)

A new report on the nation's universities warns that the pressures of growing enrollment, rising tuition, and declining funding have put campuses on a dangerous financial course and threaten to exclude many students from higher education.

The report, by the Rand Corp., draws a bleak portrait of the financial problems facing universities and suggests that many of them are ''floundering'' in their attempts to solve those problems.

Thomas Kean, a former governor of New Jersey who helped lead the study, said that if current campus trends in funding and enrollment continue into the next century ''millions of Americans will be denied the opportunity to go to college.''

The report concludes that neither public nor private support of colleges is keeping pace with campus costs or student enrollment. The report projects that by 2015, the number of full-time college students will swell to 13 million, about 3 million more than now.

That growth, spurred largely by the increasing necessity of a college degree in the nation's labor market, is occurring as college tuition costs are continuing to outpace inflation. Nationally, average college tuition per student, adjusted for inflation, has nearly doubled in the past 20 years, the report concludes.

If that pattern were to continue for another 20 years, the report asserts, more than 6 million students ''will be priced out of the system.''

Higher education officials said yesterday that the long-term analysis of colleges presented in the report appears to be sound.

''It defines the problems well, and speaks candidly about what states and institutions have to do to try to solve them,'' said Stanley Ikenberry, president of the American Council on Education, a Washington group that represents more than 1,300 colleges and universities.

Leaders of the study faulted both the federal government and, in particular, states for not making stronger financial commitments to higher education. But they also stressed that the management habits of colleges are a substantial part of the problem.

The report sharply criticizes the way many colleges manage their money, arguing that the financial decisions they make are often ''cumbersome and even dysfunctional in an environment of scarce resources.'' The report urges universities to define their missions more precisely, streamline services, and do more to measure faculty productivity. On many campuses, the report notes, the response thus far to growing financial crises has been ''partial and ad hoc.''

It also recommends that universities share more of each other's resources and try to save money in the years ahead by relying more on new computer technology and the Internet as tools for class instruction and scholarly research.

NATIONAL DEFENSE AUTHORIZATION ACT FOR FISCAL YEAR 1998

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senate will now resume consideration of S. 936, which the clerk will report.

The bill clerk read as follows:

A bill (S. 936) to authorize appropriations for fiscal year 1998 for military activities of the Department of Defense, for military construction, and for defense activities of the Department of Energy, to prescribe personnel strengths for such fiscal year for the Armed Forces, and for other purposes.

The Senate resumed consideration of the bill.

Pending:

Cochran-Durbin amendment No. 420, to require a license to export computers with composite theoretical performance equal to or greater than 2,000 million theoretical operations per second.

AMENDMENT NO. 420

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The pending question is the Cochran amendment No. 420.

The Senator from South Carolina.

Mr. THURMOND. Madam President, I would like to remind the Members of the Senate if they have amendments to this bill, the Defense authorization bill, they come down and offer them. Now is the time. There is no use to put it off. We have set aside this morning to consider these amendments, and we hope they will not delay.

I yield to the able Senator from West Virginia.

Mr. BYRD. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that I may speak out of order.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

EGYPT AND THE MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROCESS

Mr. BYRD. Madam President, the Republic of Egypt has been an outstanding leader in the Arab world in bringing an historic reconciliation between the state of Israel and its neighbors, including the Palestinians. Egyptian leaders, including President Sadat as well as the present leader, President Mubarak, have dedicated substantial energy toward such a reconciliation. There has been constant, difficult opposition to this process in the region. President Sadat's tireless and courageous dedication to peace in the Middle East cost him his life. He paid the supreme sacrifice at the hands of an assassin. And he left a lasting legacy in fashioning the Camp David Accords together with Prime Minister Begin of Israel, through the good offices of President Jimmy Carter.

In the Middle East it has always taken three to tango. Advancing the process of making peace has required the dedication of the leaders of all three countries, Israel, Egypt and the United States. What is so dangerous about the current period is the apparent flagging of this dedication on the part of the government of Prime Minister Netanyahu, which has promoted the construction of new, and entirely unnecessary Jewish settlements in Arab portions of Jerusalem, a development sure to engender violence and the disruption of the peace process. Indeed, as I have said before on this floor, it was just when there appeared to be hopeful momentum toward resolving the outstanding issues between Israel and her neighbors that the right wing in Israeli politics initiated settlement construction activities and pulled the rug out from under this momentum. Unfortunately, attempts by President Clinton to revive this process were less than successful, in part, because of deep inconsistencies in the approach of the United States which appeared only half-heartedly—only halfheartedly—to protest the settlement construction activity on the part of the Netanyahu government. Unfortunately, the United States vetoed United Nations Security Council Resolutions protesting the settlement construction, which has, in effect, taken the United States out of the strong intermediary role that it needs to play for lasting progress to be made.

It was precisely at this point—with the Israeli right acting to put the brakes on the peace process, and only a perfunctory attempt, only a half-hearted attempt by the United States Administration to revive the peace process—that Egypt has stepped in again to use its influence to infuse new energy into the complicated dance steps of the Middle East peace process. President Mubarak arranged for meetings last month at Sharm el-Shiek between Palestinian and Israeli leaders and has shown himself to be in the Egyptian tradition in exercising courage and creativity to bring the parties together again. Indeed, President Mubarak has assigned a key aide to act as a troubleshooter and intermediary between the Israelis and Palestinians, and has sponsored an ongoing dialogue which has been praised by U.S. and Israeli officials alike. This Egyptian initiative, in fact, appears to be the only game in town at this time.

So I think it is very unfortunate that just at the time when Egypt is playing this central and responsible role, the Foreign Operations Subcommittee of the Appropriations Committee has chosen to take the extraordinarily unfair and puzzling step of removing the earmark of funds in the Foreign Operations Appropriations bill for Egypt, while at the same time preserving the earmark for Israel. As my colleagues are aware, those earmarks have been the practice ever since the Camp David Accords, the peace treaty between Israel and Egypt, were signed in 1979.

I was at the signing, and I had had the pleasure and the privilege of talking with President Sadat, the President of Egypt, in 1978, in Egypt. A courageous man, President Sadat, was leader in breaking the ice, and thus giving peace a chance, a chance in the Middle East.

So, the subcommittee action, now, sends precisely the wrong signal to the Egyptians, whose assassinated leader was the pioneer in this peace process, who gave his life that there might be peace in the Middle East.

Egypt should be commended for its diplomatic actions vis-a-vis the Palestinians and Israelis, not seemingly punished for her courage. Is Israel to be symbolically rewarded for the unnecessary and provocative action it has taken in building entirely unnecessary housing settlements in sensitive Arab lands? To add insult to this injury, the subcommittee has also taken the controversial step of approving $250 million for Jordan out of what is understood to be Egypt's account in the bill. While I certainly do not take issue with rewarding Jordan and King Hussein for signing the 1994 peace treaty with Israel and for helping on the matter of Israeli partial withdrawal from the West Bank city of Hebron earlier this year, it is far preferable and much more fair that the money for Jordan come equally from both Egypt's and Israeli's earmarks.

Madam President, I do not agree with the concept of earmarks of the very large magnitude that we have been making for both Israel and Egypt.

In my view, too much money goes to both nations—too much money. For years, this has been considered as something that was due them.

I think such a foreign entitlement program should eventually be phased out and eliminated. But if we are going to give such earmarks as a tool of American diplomacy and foreign policy, at the very least they must fairly reflect this Nation's goals.

These earmarks have been looked upon virtually as entitlements by both nations, Egypt and Israel. And while we in this Chamber struggle annually over the budget deficits in attempts to get them under control, while we cut discretionary spending for America, for the American people, while both the administration and the Republican regime on Capitol Hill continue to reduce discretionary spending, discretionary caps, and to ratchet down the spending for programs and projects beneficial to the American people, the taxpayers of this country, and help to build infrastructure in this country, all kinds of questions are asked and the game of one-upmanship is played as to who can cut the most.

I am an admirer and supporter of Israel. But are there any questions asked when it comes to funding programs in Israel? Are there any questions asked when it comes to this being looked upon as an entitlement figure for Israel and Egypt? No questions asked.

Are the American taxpayers fully aware that Congress and the Administration, every year, without any questions asked—no questions asked—provide $3 billion to Israel and $2 billion to Egypt, no questions asked, while we cut funding for water projects, sewage projects, highways, harbors, bridges, education, health, law enforcement, and Indian programs? We cut those programs. But no questions are asked when it comes to this entitlement of $3 billion annually for Israel and $2 billion annually for Egypt.

I am against those earmarks, but if we are going to have them, at least they must fairly reflect the Nation's goals.